

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

## THE

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### MARCH OF THE WORKERS.

What is this, this sound and rumour?  
What is this that all men hear,  
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the  
storm is drawing near,  
Like the rolling on the ocean in the eventide  
of fear?  
Tis the people marching on.  
Whither go they and whence come they?  
What are these of whom you tell?  
In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the  
gates of heaven and hell?  
Are they mine or thine for money?  
Will they serve a master well  
Still the rumor's marching on.  
Hark, the rolling of the thunder!  
Lo, the sun! and lo! thereunder  
Rieth wrath and hope and wonder,  
And the host comes marching on  
Forth they come from grief and torment; on  
they wend toward health and mirth.  
All the wide world is their dwelling, every  
corner of the earth  
Buy them, sell them, for thy service!  
Tey the bargain what 'tis worth.  
For the days are marching on  
There are they who build thy houses, weave  
thy raiment, win thy wheat,  
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the  
bitter into sweet.  
All for thee this day, and ever.  
What reward for them is meet,  
Till the host comes marching on?  
Many a hundred years passed over have they  
labored, deaf and blind;  
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope  
their toil might find.  
Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the  
cry comes down the wind.  
And their feet are marching on.  
O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with  
words the sound is rife:  
"Once for you and death we labored; changed  
henceforward is the strife.  
We are men and we shall battle for the world  
of men and life.  
And our host is marching on."  
"Is it war then? Will ye perish as the dry  
wood in the fire?  
Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hope  
be our desire.  
Come and live! for life awaketh, and the world  
shall never tire;  
On we march then, we the workers, and the  
rumor that ye hear,  
Is the blended sound of battle and deliverance  
drawing near;  
For the hope of every creature is the banner  
that we bear,  
And the world is marching on."

WM. MORRIS.

### THE Passing Show.

"A kindly nature fashioned them hollow, that they their principles might swallow." That is a truism concerning the politicians in New South Wales, who are now making all kinds of promises with a view to being returned.

We are being entertained with a general election in this State. Rather an interesting circus, too. Bill Holman, one-time leader of the Hard Labor Party, has formed a coalition with Gregory Wade of Leg-Iron fame. The life of Parliament has been prolonged in defiance of constitutional law, but apparently that game could not be kept up with impunity, so a general election has been suddenly sprung on an unsuspecting public. Only a week's time was allowed for electors disqualified through change of address and various other reasons to get on the roll, with the result that thousands of workingmen will, of course, be disfranchised. The object, apparently, is to secure a snap vote, and prolong the life of the alleged Nationalist Party, by means of a sham appeal to the people.

Mr. Holman went out into the wilds recently, and "where the dog fell in the tucker-box, ten miles from Gundagai." He revealed the great secret that an election was to be suddenly bounced upon us. It is both amusing and instructive to note how an oligarchy endeavors to secure its end, while seeming to work within the forms of free political government. Holman is no Cromwell, or he might have told the wage slaves to take away the bauble of Parliamentary control.

Jerry Strickland, Count Delicatessen, Governor of the vermillion State of New South By'r Lady Wales, has been handed his time check. Jerry, who is accustomed to practise war economy in these hard times, by using up reams of paper in the "Government Gazette" to announce that he is a knight, a baronet knight, and various other appurtenances of sanguinary exploitation, trundled his little wheelbarrow up against the oligarchy of this State. Bill Holman wanted to form a "National" Ministry, and Jerry took offence. Now Bill has worked the oracle with the Imperial Government, and the Count de Hamburg Steak has been packed off. We are progressing famously in this country. How crude the methods of those roughnecks who threw the tea into Boston Harbor by comparison! When the obnoxious person from "One makes a fuss we do not stand on our offended national dignity, but the Levers, the Burns-Philips, the McEacharns, the McKellars and the Reg. Blacks soon demonstrate that they have sufficient power in the great world of high finance to deal summarily with the relics of a decadent aristocracy.

While the progress of Australian plutocracy depends upon harmonious co-operation with the Imperial plutocracy, there can be no doubt that there are certain tendencies in this country which are capable of causing friction. There is a rising industrial capitalist class, and we have, also, our "White Australia" and other beautiful national shibboleths. The day is not far distant when Australia will be throwing a surplus of steel goods on to the world market, thus helping in the general strangulation of capitalism. The prediction of Socialist writers that countries which are now markets for the surplus products of the Old World will soon become competitors themselves is certainly being realised in our case.

We learn that those in charge of the Sydney School of Arts would not permit the use of a room in that building for a meeting of the Anti-Imperial Federation League. Of course, we are living in a free country, but there is not much freedom when you bump against the material interests of the ruling class. There is a suggestion of something radical in such a league and, of course, radical tendencies are not to be checked by free and frank discussion.

The "Worker," in its issue of February 22, says that Holman and the National Party have stolen the Labor Party's platform practically without alteration. What a fine, frank admission! Boiled down, both platforms amount to a lot of vague promises to make the lot of the wage slave a little less burdensome. Nothing is said about any interference with the property rights which form the basis of wage slavery itself. Elect Holman, Wade or Storey as you please, and the landlord will still be landlord, the boss will still be boss, and you, Mr. Worker, will still slave for a bare existence. Rent, interest and profit, for ever and ever. Amen.

Have the politicians nothing more to offer than promises about building railways through country which the workers do not own, to open up resources which belong to the favored few, or is the question of borrowing more money from overseas boddlers something to raise wild enthusiasm over? Where is there a real assurance of any benefit to the working class from the return of either Liberal or Labor?

A job is not everything, Mr. Worker, but can Liberal or Labor politicians guar-

antee you even a permanent job?

Will Liberal or Labor take from the boss the right to fire you, of the landlord to raise your rent, or the monopolists to raise the price of your food?

Do the politicians promise any lessening of that gap between you, the hard-up wage earner tramping to work, and the wealthy non-producer rolling past in his motor car?

Even such a mild reform as a general reduction of the hours of labor is beyond the power of the old party politicians.

Now, suppose Bill Holman or Gregory Leg-Iron Wade came forward with an election manifesto like this: "Fellow citizens. In pursuance of our honorable desire to represent all classes of the community, and in order that we may remove all unnecessary political friction and thereby effectively help to win the war, my party will carry out the following:

1. Any landlord attempting to collect rent will be arrested for breaking and entering, and lodged in the penitentiary at Long Bay;
2. All goods in shops and warehouses will be placed in charge of a Board of Control and distributed according to the community's needs;
3. Any person entering a factory, mill or mine for any other purpose than to actively take part in the production of goods will be arrested for loitering with intent;
4. Employers' federations, chambers of commerce and leagues of that kind will be dealt with under the Unlawful Associations Act, and notorious members interned;
5. The control of shops and factories and of all processes of production will be carried on by labor representatives elected for that purpose;
6. The police force, backed by the army and navy, will be used to enforce the foregoing, and an ultimatum will be presented to the Imperial oligarchy intimating that the material interests of this community take precedence over all moral questions real or imaginary in dispute in Europe." I-m-m-possible, you would exclaim. In the language of the poet, "It cannot be did," but all things are possible through the power of the people.

It reminds us of the story of the American parson who read the text from St. Paul, "I can do all things." "No, Paul, I'll bet you ten dollars you can't," he exclaimed as he laid a bill on the open page. Then "Through our Lord Jesus Christ," he read on. "Ah, Paul," he cried, "the bet is off." An organized working class can do all things. That is to say, that it can get what it wants as soon as it knows what it wants.

We have been told that certain severities were much exercised over a small paragraph which appeared in this column some weeks ago, stating that "Political power, the key to economic power, is now in safe hands for another four years." The paragraph was borrowed, unfortunately, without acknowledgment from the "Appeal to Reason," and a little reflection would have shown that it referred to the American presidential election. There is certainly no four years' period in Australian politics to which it possibly could refer. What the American journal means, of course, is that, if the giant capitalist interests of Wall Street failed to secure the return of a pliant tool to the presidential chair, the course of plutocracy would not run as smooth as that of true love, and we do not think after all that the "Appeal" is very far wrong.

A friend of this paper, writing from a far western town in Queensland, says: "I am not in touch with many men here, and the few I do see are of the bone-headed variety, who would much sooner buy mental chloroform at the nearest booze joint than use a little of their scant earnings to improve their condition. Besides, they strongly suspect me of trying to inveigle them into the I.W.W. 'Twould require too great an effort for their cave-man intelligence to distinguish between an anarchist and a Socialist. Anyhow, everybody who pretends to be anybody is quite agreed that I am a fool. Needless to say, all these plugs are A.W.U. and Labor men. 'Twould really amuse you to

hear their shed chairman and organiser holding forth. Still, the case is not entirely hopeless, for anyone who watches as the years slip by will see the light growing brighter and will find propagators of the gospel turning up in the most unexpected places."

What have the comrades in the cities and big industrial centres to say to these lone pioneers of the Socialist movement in these remote places outback? Is it not time to get together in order that we may send out to them a message of hope and encouragement to carry on the battle?

It will not last very long before the heads of those now opposing governments will meet again and congratulate each other for having succeeded in killing the wherewithalls of a successful Revolution.

One should think it is impossible for the warring nations to become friendly, for generations. But for capitalistic politicians who have their hands in the jack-pot, everything is possible.

And the queer thing is, that it works. So we have cause to demand for experience sake, to try our plan.

Much rather would we like to see the human race loose its so-called incentive for industrial progress than use it in its final analysis as a weapon to kill off the best manhood in the land, and gain a supremacy in commerce, where no supremacy is needed, and be so stupid yet and make this process appear as the workings of that "wonderful theory," "the survival of the fittest," the brute. A thousand times cursed be those who believe in such rotten stuff.

Political government proceeding to establish peace on earth as it does now, has forever forfeited its right of existence.

Nothing stands more in condemnation of political government and capitalism, than the fact that the products of the earth and labor are not permitted to freely exchange anywhere and everywhere, but must go through tariff walls and State lines and such in order to protect individual graft, upon which crime, the standard term, "patriotism," has been unfolded to deceive the people.

The working class will then not be taxed to provide for its old age, because this item will be nicely matched and regulated on the basis of the support the workers received before they became active producers, viz: during childhood.

There are many hungry men in Australia, where food is stored in plenty, but there is no hunger and want that we know of in the land that is torn and rent with blazing shells and burning gas.

How to grow fat under Capitalism.—Waste and destroy as much as possible.

The ideals of the ruling class are always expressed in company prospectuses.

There is much talk of National Governments these days. A national government is a government formed of all the reactionary elements in Parliament, for the purpose of carrying on business in defiance of the wishes of the people.

We mentioned in our last issue that it seemed that members of Broken Hill Branch had been actively supporting the Hard Labor Party's candidate. Correspondence to hand bears this out, and we think that it is up to Broken Hill Branch to give an account of itself. So far as this paper is concerned, no question of material interest will persuade us to refrain from condemning what we regard as a shameful piece of political trading.

One of the exhibits now in Broken Hill Museum is the large stone hatchet with which members of the I.W.W. smashed the ballot box during Brookfield's election. We hear that the "Fellow Workers" turned a complete somersault, swallowed all their fiery utterances about "political fakirs" and "putting a man on your back," and rolled up to vote in grand style.



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A slave has no property in his labor,  
and any man who is compelled to give up  
the fruits of his labor to another at the  
arbitrary will of that other has no prop-  
erty, and is, therefore, a slave, whether  
the fruit of his labor is taken from him  
directly or indirectly. If it be said that  
he gave up this fruit by his own will, and  
that it is not forced from him, I answer,  
"To be sure, he may avoid eating and  
drinking, and may go naked, but then he  
must die; and on this condition only can  
he refuse to give up the fruit of his  
labor."

WILLIAM CORBETT.

## Class Education.

### Capitalist Unity—Working-Class Lethargy—Ignorance and Credulity—What of the Craft Unions?

The popular outcry of to-day is for the  
scientific organisation and co-ordination  
of the forces of labor so as to effectively  
fight the scientific organisations of the  
master class.

Now, although the capitalists have dif-  
ferent organisations and conflicting econ-  
omic interests, they are class-conscious.  
Being class-conscious, they act as a class  
whenever the basis of capitalist society is  
menaced.

There is an opinion prevalent in some  
quarters that the A.S.P. recognises craft  
unionism as being the last word in the or-  
ganisation of the working class. This  
opinion is the result of ignorance on the  
part of some, and deliberate misrepresen-  
tation on the part of others, who have an  
axe to grind.

The function of a revolutionary Social-  
ist party is destructive. By this, I do not  
mean that it is necessary for Socialists to  
burn or destroy property or human life.  
But Revolutionary Socialists are endeavor-  
ing to bring about a complete turning  
over in the minds of the masses, so as to  
bring about a complete change of owner-  
ship of the means of production and dis-  
tribution.

To bring about this economic revolution  
it is not only necessary to propagate the  
principles of Socialism in the workshop  
and on the street corners, but it is abso-  
lutely essential that destructive criticism  
of capitalist society be employed to make  
the slaves class-conscious.

The A.S.P. is endeavouring to impart a  
class education to the masses; and all  
those things that bolster up capital is cri-  
ticised irrespective of the spiritual, moral,  
or political opinions of boneheads or half-  
baked wage-slaves.

The working class is in economic bon-  
dage to-day because it does not under-  
stand its class position—it is not class-  
conscious. The main obstacles to working  
class unity are religion and patriotism.  
These obstacles must be smashed down—  
they must be ruthlessly exposed and de-  
nounced by all who claim to be Revolu-  
tionary Socialists. Tactics are useless and  
are only compromises with ignorance.

Let us, then, hear less of organisation,  
and more of education. We have our  
work of educating the masses and agit-  
ating on the political field. We can preach  
and teach anti-patriotism and denounce all  
those organisations that live on the credu-  
lity of the working class.

Having, by these means, undermined  
the false teaching of the capitalist class,  
the organisation of the working class on  
the economic field will be possible.

G. de P.

# Science and Superstition.

## Dim Shadows and Sharp Realities.

Ghosts of a Dead Past that Haunt the  
Body Politic.

Editor, "International Socialist"—

As I have already got "a good hearing"  
on the above question, it is scarcely fair  
to ask for more space, but the concluding  
sentence in the able letter of "J. A. D."  
in issue of 25th February so admirably re-  
veals the core of the argument of those  
who insist on neutrality on the above ques-  
tion that I can scarcely afford to pass it  
by without protest. He says: "Alter the  
substance (the economic form of society)  
and the shadow will alter of itself." The  
statement is one of those half truths which  
work so much havoc in the world of  
thought. The writer of it evidently mis-  
understands the meaning of the materialist  
conception of society. It is solely by  
virtue of brain development that man has  
so far exceeded the brute in his conquest  
of nature.

It is only the progress of science and  
invention and not the growth of human  
sentiment which renders Socialism possi-  
ble. But the possibilities of the uni-  
versal application of these discoveries in  
the way of the abolition of poverty and  
want is not realised by the very class most  
to be benefited and who stand in need  
of their application—our own class—the  
working class. Hence Socialist propa-  
ganda. Man, therefore, makes his environ-  
ment, but only from the materials at  
hand. He is limited by the extent of his  
knowledge of and control over nature.  
Poverty cannot be abolished until enough  
can be produced for all.

So much for the substance (the econ-  
omic form of society); now for the  
"shadow." We have seen the necessity  
of agitation in altering the economic foun-  
dations, of drawing attention to the pos-  
sibilities involved in the wealth of human  
knowledge and the question is this: Must  
we not also exert mental effort in the  
alteration of the superstructure—the legal,  
political, etc., "shadows" of this sub-  
stance. Evidently Marx thought effort  
was here required for he says: "In consid-  
ering such transformations the distinction  
should always be made between the  
material transformation of the economic  
means of production, which can be deter-  
mined with the precision of natural  
science, and the legal, political, reli-  
gious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short,  
ideological forms in which men become  
conscious of this conflict and fight it out."  
(Introduction to "Crit. of Pol. Econ.").  
Because a thing is possible of accomplish-  
ment is no guarantee that it will be ac-  
complished. The scientist must prove his  
theory correct to the satisfaction of others,  
the inventor must show the incredulous  
capitalist the possibilities of his discovery  
and great have been the exertions before  
the labors of both scientist and inventor  
secured the required publicity and dis-

armed incredulity. Once the economic  
"substance" is secured, it does not follow  
the "shadow" must necessarily follow.  
As a matter of fact, the analogy is not  
strictly correct; if it were "ideological  
forms" would not require to be fought over.  
A better analogy would be that as the  
youth grows in stature his garments re-  
quire alteration. This leaves room for dis-  
cussion which should be superfluous if  
"ideological forms" adjusted themselves  
as shadows.

We retain customs and beliefs utterly  
unsuited to our age and time; vestigial  
remains that, like ghosts of a dead past,  
haunt the body politic. But the distinc-  
tion to be made is this—that once the econ-  
omic transformation is completed, it be-  
comes easy to show the imperfections and  
absurdities of the past ideological forms  
in their relation to the new conditions;  
men can see "the sense of it"; it is ob-  
vious, and, therefore, comparatively easy  
of accomplishment. Yet, make no mis-  
take, it is not automatic, not to be achiev-  
ed without effort. Just as the material  
conditions now in existence justify the econ-  
omic transformation and renders Social-  
ist propaganda possible and practicable,  
so that transformation will render the  
transformation or creation of suitable  
ideological forms a necessity if society  
is to operate with any degree of consist-  
ency and without too much friction. It is  
a great mistake to neglect the human fac-  
tor in economic evolution. Even when the  
old forms are rejected, it does not follow  
we will at once agree on the forms most  
suitable to altered conditions; they will  
doubtless give rise to many prolonged dis-  
cussions and burning of midnight oil.  
Men will insist through force of habit in  
pouring the wine of new thought into the  
old bottles of tradition and will rarely be  
convinced until the bottles break in their  
hands. Were human beings strictly rati-  
onal, this could not happen, but custom  
becomes second nature, and very often  
fully has the casting vote.

We can no more escape arguing the re-  
ligious reflex than we can the legal and  
political reflexes; all of them press for  
consideration. The church, wise as a ser-  
pent, but not harmless as a dove, divines  
the coming struggle, and equally con-  
demns Socialism and modern science, of  
which Socialism is a part. We must give  
her her due, she knows her mortal en-  
emies, and has no qualms about throwing  
down the gauntlet. Those pacifist  
Socialists who think they can influence  
the Christian churches by soothing asser-  
tions and convert them by a policy of neu-  
trality and peaceful penetration will one  
day have a rude awakening.

F. SUTHERLAND.

### Other Men's Thoughts.

#### THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The class struggle began with the pre-  
historic tribal wars, and can end only  
when the laborers can be delivered from  
the inheritance of industrial disaster hand-  
ed down to them from the fortunes of bar-  
barian warfare. This class struggle was  
shown in the servile rebellions, when slav-  
ery had been made the status of the work-  
ing man. This class struggle was shown in  
peasant wars, when serfdom had been  
made the status of the working man. This  
class struggle was shown in the labor  
unions and the strikes, when the wage sys-  
tem had been fastened on the toiler, when  
he had been robbed of any opportunity to  
use the resources of the earth in his own  
right, had been refused the right to live  
without a master, and had not been guar-  
anteed even the right to have a master.  
This class struggle is shown now in the  
struggle for Socialism, which is no new  
thing in the world. It is the same old  
warfare, at last informed as to the nature  
of the rights of the toilers and equipped  
with the power of the ballot in the  
struggle to secure these rights.

JOHN STUART MILL.

#### ENVIRONMENT.

"Man becomes a wild, ferocious savage,  
a cannibal, or a highly civilised and ben-  
evolent being, according to the circum-  
stances in which he may be placed from  
his birth."

ROBERT OWEN.

## Australia Misrepresented

Imperial Federation.

The High Commissioner for Australia in  
London, Mr. Andrew Fisher, shows no  
sign of contradicting the grossly errone-  
ous statements of an irresponsible group  
of publicists—self-called "The Round  
Table Group"—to the effect that Aus-  
tralians are highly desirous of joining  
with the other parts of the Empire in an  
Imperial Federation. This "Round Table  
Group," through its magazine, "The  
Round Table," edited by Mr. Phillip Kerr,  
who is now on the personal staff of  
Britain's Prime Minister, persistently im-  
plies and states that Australia has fully  
considered the question of Imperial fed-  
eration, and is now asking for it—clam-  
oring for it, in fact. This assertion has  
been made so frequently and so emphati-  
cally that the people of Britain are begin-  
ning to assume it to be true. Yet nothing  
could be further from the truth.

It is most dangerous nonsense that this  
"Round Table Group" is speaking. It  
is obviously incorrect to say that Aus-  
tralians want Imperial federation. Not  
only is there no evidence that they want it,  
but there is positive evidence that Aus-  
tralians do not want it from various spok-  
esmen and written utterances. The Mel-  
bourne "Age," particularly, has voiced  
extremely strong opposition in its lead-  
ing columns.

It is absurd to imagine that Australia  
would voluntarily surrender her most im-  
portant and fundamental self-governing  
rights, and submit to taxation and con-  
scription from London. The federalists  
must therefore think that Imperial federa-  
tion could be imposed in spite of Aus-  
tralia's desires! This, as a matter of fact,  
is equally absurd! But still, an attempt  
may be made, and it is urgently necessary  
for Australians to voice and voice again  
their opposition to the idea so as to guard  
against such an attempt being made,  
which, although it could not finally suc-  
ceed, would, in its process, disrupt this  
community and break down for ever the  
goodwill which exists to mutual advan-  
tage between Britain and Australia. All  
Australians of whatever political or other  
beliefs can find common ground in resist-  
ing loss of their autonomy. Imperial  
federation would smash Australian democ-  
racy to pieces and render colonialism  
service.

W. J. MILES.

Challis House, 14/2/17.

#### THOUGHTS FROM MAZZINI.

The security, efficacy, and rapid pro-  
gress of an association are always in pro-  
portion to the determination, clearness  
and precision of its aim.

The strength of an association lies not  
in the numerical cypher of the elements  
of which it is composed, but in the homo-  
geneousness of these elements; in the per-  
fect accordance of its members as to the  
path to be followed, and the certainty  
that the moment of action will find them  
ranged in a compact phalanx, strong in re-  
ciprocal trust, and bound together by  
unity of will beneath a common banner.

The great error of the past has been  
that of entrusting the fate of the country  
to individuals rather than to principles.

You have to elevate a new banner, and  
you must seek its supporters among the  
young who are capable of enthusiasm,  
energy and sacrifice. Tell them the whole  
truth. Let them know all as to our aims  
and intentions. We can rely upon them if  
they accept it.

Teach your followers that they must  
choose their leaders among men who seek  
their inspiration from revolution.

By ignorance and inordinate desire,  
man has armed himself against man,  
family against family, tribe against tribe,  
and the earth is converted into a bloody  
theatre of discord and robbery and igno-  
rance; tyranny and wretchedness have  
everywhere struck the nations with  
stupor; and vicious habits, depraving the  
natural senses, have destroyed the very  
instinct of happiness and truth.

VOLNEY.

It is not to die, or even to die of hunger,  
that makes a man wretched; many men  
have died; all men must die; the last exit  
of us all is in a Fire-Chariot of Pain. But  
it is to live miserable we know not why;  
to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be  
heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated,  
girt-in with a cold universal Laissez-faire;  
it is to die slowly all our life long, impris-  
oned in a deaf, dead, infinite Injustice, as  
in the accursed iron belly of a Phalaris' Bull!  
This is and remains intolerable to all  
men whom God has made. Do we  
wonder at French Revolutions, Chartisms,  
Revolts of Three Days?

THOMAS CARLYLE.



## On the Train.

A Little Chat.

(Written for the "International Socialist" by C.F.C.)

We met on the 5.30. He was a typical wage-earner, about 40—my own age—and greeted me with a friendly smile. I grinned in response, and we began to yarn casually.

A group of young chaps nearby were eagerly discussing the probable fate of Gibbons when he met Darey, and the chances of "Bookie's Boy" in the Hurdles.

"Queer, isn't it?" remarked my acquaintance; "every subject under the sun, bar the only one that matters to us, our wives and our kids." I became interested immediately. "Apparently," he went on, "they never seem to consider the position of millions of their fellows—men and women—whose life, day in, day out, is one long, deadly monotony. It seems impossible to arouse their interest." I nodded in agreement. His eyes were sparkling now, and adjusting his dark red tie, he raced on:

"Our system of organisation is rotten, rotten to the core. Tinkering won't alter it. If we're to do any good, if we are to win, we must exert our whole strength. The present system has to go. There's no other way. It MUST go. Even Blind Freddie can see that—"

"Friend," I broke in, "you're a man after my own heart. Meeting you is to me what tumbling on an oasis in the desert is to a weary traveller. I endorse every word you've said. As you say, the present system, the present capitalistic system, is rotten and must go. Nothing we can do in the shape of reforms can do us any permanent good. You can't get away from its exploitation, its swinish scramble for the necessities of life, and its misery. Higher wages is a will-o'-the-wisp—you've hardly got 'em when higher prices put you back in your original position. Shorter hours can't solve the question of unemployment, otherwise it wouldn't exist now. The Right to Work Bill? A myth! How can capitalism keep going without its reserve army of unemployed? Here you have the Labor Party trying to stall off the effects of the system, while they don't or won't deal with the cause."

One could easily see that my friend understood the Labor Party's defects—the gleam in his eyes spoke volumes on THAT score.

"What the ——" he commenced; but, getting in my stride, I kept going.

"Man! I'm glad to have met you. I almost despair at times, but words like yours make the heart beat gladly. You spoke of our rotten system of organisation. You're right on to it there. That's our weakness. Instead of having about 1002 little tinpot trade unions, the whole working class must unite industrially into about six or so revolutionary industrial unions, whose aim must be to take over industries and socially-necessary wealth, for the benefit of our class, when their political reflex has captured the State. Don't get downhearted about the young chaps; they'll be in later on."

My friend was looking at me strangely. He was more than worked up. He seemed as if any minute he would choke—himself or me.

"What the hell are you talking about?" he demanded savagely. "What, in God's name, has industrial unionism to do with what I said about the present system, the present system of getting recruits, about organisation to win the war? You're a b—— Socialist by your talk," he added, raising his voice, "and if I had my way I'd shoot the ——— lot of you. At a time like this, when you should sink every difference, blokes like you are stirring up ———"

I didn't catch the last part of his benediction for the train had arrived at my destination.

The advantages for instruction that capitalism offers the working man are mainly intended in the way that sheep raisers offer advantages to their sheep—so the sheep may yield more wool for the fleecer to fleec. For all that, the working man should avail himself of all such advantages that the capitalists offer. He is entitled to them all. It is only a small return for the plunder upon him. Only, he should use such advantages to equip himself for emancipation.

DANIEL DE LEON.

## Industrial Unionism.

### Political Propaganda.

#### Working Class Organisation.

The editor takes my criticism of the A.S.P. in the wrong spirit. I take it that he is one of those "fanatical freethinkers" whom Lefargue refers to. But his criticism of the W.I.U. is another matter, and as he has asked, "will he (I) or anyone else inform us (him) what the W.I.U. can do to-day which cannot be done by the propaganda of the Australasian Socialist Party?" I refer to that matter and answer—Yes. Can the A.S.P. organise the workers in the industries in such manner that they can take and hold the means of production, etc.?

I would draw attention to the fact that the Australasian Socialist Party in its principles and policy endorses industrial unionism. Well, then, what attitude does the Party intend to take up? Does it mean to go in for a policy of "boring from within" the trades unions, or will it logically follow up its endorsement and advocate the "boring from without" policy of the W.I.U.? In either case it means helping to bring into existence an industrial organisation. If the A.S.P. means neither of these policies, what then is the advocacy of industrial unionism in their principles and policy worth? It will not be worth the paper it is printed on.

One thing the A.S.P. as a political organisation can never do is to take and hold the tools of production for the working class.

The Workers' International Industrial Union is the organisation on the industrial field, which boldly and correctly sets out the Socialist principle that political power flows from, and is the result of economic power, and "that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common"—and "the working class must come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor."

The political movement is impotent unless backed up with industrial might. There should be no antagonism between the Revolutionary Socialist Political Organisation and the industrial organisation. Each should supplement the other. Alone, each will be practically powerless, to-

gether, the world is for the working class.

As for Marx and De Leon—I do not belittle Karl Marx when I recognise the value of De Leon's contributions to the Revolutionary Socialist movement; as with Labriola, I do "not overlook the influence of the individual, i.e., of the work of those who are called great men, who, if they are not the creators, are certainly collaborators of history."

On this I cannot do better than quote from a Socialist writer (Geo. W. Ohls):

"Upon further investigation the working man will discover the tremendous part played in human affairs by the law of value. Aristotle recognised it, but it remained for Karl Marx to work out the details. Not, perhaps, that Marx was endowed with keener intellect than Aristotle, but because he lived in a period which made his work possible. The simple knowledge of Marxian economics, however, would not in itself overthrow the present anarchic system of production and exchange. With the development of the tool of production and the centralisation of capital in America; with capitalism making rapid strides towards its logical conclusion, came the opportunity for the tactical programme for its overthrow. That opportunity was seized upon by Daniel De Leon and supplemented the work of Aristotle and Marx. Not, perhaps, that De Leon was possessed of a keener intellect than his predecessors, but again for the reason that he lived in a period and in a country which made possible his contribution to the human family. The tactical programme as laid down by De Leon calls for the organisation of the working class on both political and industrial lines, the one serving as a supplement to the other. The function of the political wing is to propagate, educate and make apparent to the working class the necessity for intelligent organised effort to overthrow the existing order. That of the industrial wing, organised along the lines of the class struggle, is to provide the requisite force behind the ballot, so that the day of political victory will sound the death-knell of what has developed into the most inhuman system of recorded history."

J. A. D.

#### ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

It should always be kept in mind that when a Socialist writer or speaker uses the term "Abolition of Private Property," he invariably means private property in the socially-necessary means of production and distribution.

In a word, the means of producing the necessities of life will be the common property of the people, and it will be managed (democratically) in order to furnish the product to the people at the necessary cost of production and distribution.

Thus, while Socialism will abolish "private property" in the means of production, it will greatly increase the private ownership in the product produced—in all those things which go to satisfy human wants.

So the proposition resolves itself into this: Socialism proposes that everything that is commonly used shall be commonly owned, and everything that is privately used shall be privately owned.

It sounds "fierce" to talk about the "abolition of private property"; but, dear reader, don't get excited, for the capitalists themselves are ahead of the Socialists in putting the principle in actual practice.

Let us quote from Louis Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," and see where we are at to-day under the capitalistic regime:—

"This is not all, however. The corporation has not merely failed to save the middle class. It is performing a positive and great service in the work of transformation of our society from capitalism to Socialism. That work is nothing less than the abolition of private property and the substitution of collective property in the means of production, demolition of the basis of capitalism and the rearing of the ground work of a Socialist system of society. It is hard to think of our capitalists as doing this work, but that is what they are doing nevertheless. In their frantic efforts to save themselves, the capitalist class is doing nothing less than undermining its very existence, cut-

ting out the ground work from under its own feet, abolishing not only the basis of capitalism, but the basis of all class society—private property. This fact has not been noticed hitherto and given the attention which it deserves, because, again, of the question of income which has obstructed our vision. Because our big capitalists get the benefits, the income, of our corporations, it has not been noticed that they don't own the property from which these incomes and benefits are derived. In looking with rapturous gaze or hateful abhorrence at the enormous fortunes of our kings, barons and lesser gentry, the startling fact has been lost sight of that these fortunes are mere titles to revenue, and not to property.

"A social and industrial system in which one man controls thousands of lives and is possessed of millions of money; in which able-bodied men, willing to work, walk the streets in desperation, looking for a job; in which thousands of women, owing to oppressive labor and small remuneration, are under continual temptation to barter womanhood for gain; in which are tenements not fit for pigsties, where women fight fever and infants pant for air and wail out their little lives; in which the sweater's den and the grogshop thrive—such a society is far from that order which God ordains."

BISHOP HUNTINGTON.

A man wanting to live by work, yet finding no work to do—all the dramas of the poets furnish no figure more tragic than that spectacle. Here the man is in a world, not of his own choosing—in a world where he must eat his bread. Social conditions forbid him to work, and the laws forbid him to be idle. For he is gravely told that he must not be a vagrant. He is reminded that every man must have visible means of support; otherwise the gaol swallows him. It is illogical, if not grotesque, in a government to punish a vagrant, when that government has not secured to him the opportunity to make a living by work.

EDWIN MARKHAM.

## Socialism and Religion.

To the Editor, "International Socialist."

Dear Comrade,—

With the tenacity of youth, and inexperience, where discretion would dictate that whatever you may do, or say, to an ordinary mortal, fear of the "wrath to come" would deter any but the rashest of individuals from having a jolt with the Editor. Fain would we have taken our courage and let the matter drop had it not been that in your dismissal of our contention (Jan. 27th) you propounded certain questions that invite attention, and courtesy demands that they be answered. And much in the spirit of "Ajax" (though not assuming the posture), we defy the lightning.

You ask when "Monsignor Ceretti, Papal Delegate, blew across Sydney Harbour with all the pomp and circumstance of an ambassador, and was welcomed by all manner of State functionaries, police and politicians, was that a private matter?" (i.e., religion). No, comrade, it was no more private than the breeze that blew him.

Strange as it may seem, that same breeze arrived here January 28th. And in its wake brought Dr. Mannix, Coadjutor Archbishop aunts to Coburg; ostensibly to bless a school, intentionally to deliver these "Articles of Faith." This is a Trade war. Right to work—a living wage—German money—\$100 carpenters out of work. Expenditure on education—value not received. Australian trade declining, etc., etc. Incidentally, not forgetting to give a sly dig at Socialism in passing.

The results of that outburst had a different effect on various people, but I can hardly conceive a Socialist with feet planted firmly on earth would have made any mistake as to what was speaking. Despite the fact that the speaker wore the "Insignia of Office," and the motion to which he spoke was the consecration of a school, only more clearly emphasised the point that it was the politician at work, ambushed behind a religious organisation.

As to reconciling the "Materialist Interpretation of History with the Virgin Birth," we decline, comrade, to be drawn on to the theological field, no matter how entrancing such controversy may appear, as it does not actually come within the scope of the Socialist philosophy. I think we can safely leave it in the hands of the rationalist. Such discussion would lead, to quote Hegel, "from nothing, through nothing, to nothing," and does not interest us any more than reconciling the Materialist conception of history to the theory that the moon is made of green cheese, or the numerical strength of the angels, and how many could dance on the point of a needle.

Then the Editor asks, "Can they (we) get away from the fact that as religion is rooted in capitalism, Socialists are adopting the surest means of overthrowing religion by attacking capitalism?" That at first glance would appear to be a begging of the question, seeing that our premises are built on the fact "that the religious world is but the reflex of the real world." Economic, and our contention was that the strength of the Socialist movement lies in keeping its feet on solid earth, and refusing to be drawn off the economic, political and industrial-field.

On closer analysis it would seem to read that Socialists are out to overthrow capitalism, in order to destroy religion. If that is correct interpretation, then it is a very original proposition. The overthrow of any form of society necessarily means a change in the institutions dependent thereon. Hardly could it be said with any degree of accuracy that the Proletarian Revolution has as its aim the destruction of religion. The question under discussion is not how to destroy religion, but whether religion viewed from the Socialist standpoint is or is not a private matter. We can only re-state our contention that Socialism is not out to destroy religion. What a man thinks on religion does not concern us; that is his private concern. What does concern us is his opinions on economics. Religion did not come into existence with capitalism. And Ethical Idealism will continue long after capitalism is dead.

J.D. and W.H.

Poison the stream of justice at the fount Range on the side of wrong the things that count

In base subversion of the rights of man; No mercy show in wielding Mammon's plan;

Grant not the loving thesis of the Mount. —WOMERAH.



## Socialists in War Cabinets.

(By J. Fineberg, in "The Call," London.)

The fundamental principle underlying the international working class movement is the recognition of the class struggle. Whilst the primary basis for affiliation to the International Socialist Bureau is the acceptance of Socialism, it nevertheless embraces working class political bodies which have not made this their main object, but which in so far as they are independent working class bodies fighting for purely working class objects, are in effect fighting the class struggle. It was on these grounds that the British Labor Party was accepted for affiliation by the Executive of the I.S.B. Whether their estimation of the Labor Party was correct or not the action of the Bureau Executive in accepting it on the assumption that it was a strictly independent working class party shows the importance that was attached to the principle of the class struggle. The International recognises, and has repeatedly affirmed, that under the capitalist system of production there is an irreconcilable antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class which must continue until the final overthrow of the capitalist system. It is by the vigorous pursuit of the class struggle that the proletariat will eventually emancipate itself. Anything that tends to obscure the antagonism of the classes or in any way minimises the vigor of the fight was to be energetically opposed. It was in connection with the question of working class participation in capitalist governments that the International gave the most striking confirmation of its adherence to the principle of the class struggle. The International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, in 1904, was overwhelmingly against participation in capitalist governments on the ground of the inherent antagonism between workers and capitalists. It demanded the strictest independence on the part of the Socialist Group in the various Parliaments, and called upon them to defend the workers from the capitalist State and carry on a vigorous propaganda for Socialism. "No alliance with capitalism." "No National Unity." "An unrelenting class struggle" were the watchwords of the International. It was under the inspiration of this cardinal principle that the working class movement was beginning to become a menace to capitalism prior to August, 1914.

On the outbreak of war we witnessed the lamentable spectacle of those who were most vigorous in the advocacy of the class struggle throwing their principles to the winds, and rallying to the support of their respective Governments. Thus we had Jules Guesde, the uncompromising revolutionary, and Emile Vandervelde, the President of the I.S.B., taking posts in the Governments against which they had formerly led the attack. While it may not appear to be fair to condemn the German and Austrian Social Democrats for a step they have not taken, it is, nevertheless, legitimate to assume from their acceptance of the class truce during the war, that had the political conditions in Germany and Austria permitted it, they, too, would have pursued a similar course. It gives some hope for the future that this desertion did not take place in all countries, and to their enduring credit the Socialist Parties in England, Russia, Italy, Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumania remained true.

There is no justification for this drastic change of tactics. There has been no alteration in the relationships between workers and masters, or between the capitalist State and the proletariat as a result of the war. On the contrary, the Governments have remained throughout the political weapon of the dominant class, concerned with the prosecution of an Imperialist war. Not to have foreseen that is an exhibition of ineptitude that is inexcusable in those who accepted the leadership of the revolutionary working class movement. The antagonism between employers and workers has, indeed, become intensified. The Governments have assisted the employing class to weaken the organisations of the workers, and to rob them of all means of defence. The class struggle prevails in war no less than in peace, and those who persuaded the workers to accept the class truce stand in the same position as a commander would stand who led his troops into an ambush. By accepting office in capitalist Governments these Socialist and Labor leaders share the responsibility for the acts of repression perpetrated by their Governments. Indeed, they have become the very instruments by which those acts have been carried out. And it could not be otherwise. They were taken into the Governments to act as hostages for the good behaviour of

## Here and There.

(By C. F. C.)

At the Sydney Labor Council, 16/2/17, Alderman Bourke (United Laborers) handed out the following on the question of unemployment:

"There would be a State election in a few weeks, and then they would get a Government that would stand by the workers; that would see that the resources of the country were not allowed to lie idle, and that any man willing to work would be given employment."

We thought that, under the present capitalistic system there could NEVER be work for ALL; that Capitalism's kingpin was the fact that there are ALWAYS many unemployed; that without the unemployed the capitalist system would quickly cease to function.

No doubt, though, we were wrong, and the Labor Party, for that is the one Bourke referred to, will "stand by the workers" by borrowing millions from the capitalists, to develop "our" natural resources, which, by the way, are mostly in private hands. This, no doubt, will be followed by the "Right to Work Bill." Thus, the reserve army of unemployed will disappear, and capitalism will naturally collapse! (Sensation.)

Do you remember those honeyed words of yesterday to the boys who enlisted—those honeyed words about "the grateful country which would never forget them"? Do you recall the promises of Cook and Hughes and the smiling echoes of Paunch? That was yesterday.

Today, Hughes and Cook have fused, and one of the terms of the alliance is that the Wealth Tax for the repatriation of

the working class, living under conditions that roused the bitterest antagonism between the classes. They have thus been compelled by virtue of their bond to use the powers of government to force the workers into submission. We are not permitted to know much about what is occurring in France. But when Albert Thomas, the Socialist Minister of Munitions, boasted to the English workers that there were no strikes in France we could give a shrewd guess as to why that was so. In England the results of the Labor Party's participation in the Government are obvious. Having taken office to demonstrate a national unity that never existed, the Labor Ministers have been compelled to seek to create that unity by suppressing every sign of unrest amongst their own class. They do not share the responsibility for this suppression with their capitalist colleagues; they take it all on their own shoulders. It is thus seen that by abandoning the principle by which the movement had hitherto been guided, and by co-operating with the avowed enemies of the workers, our quondam leaders have become the conscious or unconscious tools of the dominant class.

It is attempted to justify the participation of the workers' representatives in capitalist Governments on the ground of the influence Labor will thus have in the settlement of the terms of peace. The prospect of having a Labor representative at the Peace Conference is even dangled before our eyes. What utter nonsense! Those sections who co-operated with their Government did so because they were in complete agreement with the righteous aims for which each claimed to be fighting. Why then the need for an especially Labor representative in the settlement of peace conditions? If they differ from their Governments as to the terms of peace that is an argument, not for co-operating with those Governments, but for opposing them; for assuming, in fact, the attitude that those who have remained true to the principle of the class struggle have pursued all through the war. In any case, what hopes have these Socialist or Labor Ministers of influencing the peace terms when by their very participation in the Governments they have identified the aims of the working class with those of the capitalist State, and have destroyed that working class backing which alone could give them the power to influence their Cabinets? How much consideration is likely to be given to the views of Labor Ministers can be judged from the manner in which Guesde and Sembat have been quietly dropped from the French Cabinet just at the time when their views on the content of peace might have proved awkward to their capitalist colleagues. It is a fate they might have expected.

Socialist participation in capitalist Governments has thus proved a disastrous failure to the working class. The war has vindicated the fundamental principles of the International—at a terrible cost it is true. Neither in war nor peace must the working class diminish its vigorous and relentless opposition to the dominant class if it would make any progress towards its emancipation. That is one of the lessons that the last two years have taught.

these self-same boys—a tax that would be levied on Paunch—is to be dropped! Ah, those scraps of paper! A cynic has suggested that the returned heroes will be offered the freedom of the city—or the city streets.

War business is booming in the United States. The Dupont Powder Company's income for the year 1916 was £63,800,000. Its admitted profits for the year were £16,400,000. Remember, too, that items such as a secret reserve, never appear in the published balance-sheet. These figures show that this company made a net profit of over TWENTY-FIVE per cent, on its SALES, which means a net profit of over THIRTY-THREE per cent, on its COSTS.

Do you wonder why the powder, armament, manufacturing and shipping circles love Peace so?

"Do not waste your time on social questions. What is the matter with the poor is poverty; what is the matter with the rich is uselessness."

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, said that the attitude of the U.S. in the present submarine crisis is dictated by the tradesmen's policy of "Where can I sell my goods?" Further, that had Germany been situated as England is, the U.S. would have been trading with her and not with England.

Though we agree on this point with Bernstorff, we are prepared to take our oath that should the U.S. enter the war, it will NOT do so to conserve the interests of the munition manufacturers, grain magnates and exporters. Any action she may take will be dictated by her desire to uphold the rights of the free-born American people.

Do you know that in American industry 35,000 people—free-born American people—are killed and 700,000 people—free-born American people—are wounded every year! Do you know that at the present time the U.S. Government is awaiting "a purple outrage on the high seas" to serve as a *casus belli*?

Under the headings "Repression of Labor," and "Further Trouble Feared," we read that "11 members of the Russian War Industries Committee have been arrested for conspiring to overthrow the existing regime and establish a Social Democratic Republic."

Evidently, even in Russia, are many who know where, and where only, freedom is to be won.

We read also that the Russian Government is instituting a further censorship.

This second censorship is merely a move by the Government to aid the Labor papers against the inroads of the Paper Trust. Labor news will now be printed on paper the size of a domino.

Last week the British House of Commons passed a war-credit appropriation of £550,000,000 to keep in good trim millions of men organised for the purpose of wealth destruction. At the same time, the Commonwealth Government raised a huge war loan for the same purpose.

In N.S.W. to-day there are 15,000 unemployed—15,000 potential wealth producers. Strange that Governments which successfully grapple the problem of keeping millions of non-producers well fed, clothed and sheltered, can't at the same time prevent thousands of actual wealth producers from starving.

Strange, ain't it?

The gentleman—now deceased—who uttered the words: "The poor will be always with ye" evidently never heard of Socialism. Otherwise he'd have urged the descendants of his flock to study constructive industrial unionism.

### DEATH OF COMRADE HAGAN.

Died recently at Merewether near Newcastle ROBERT HAGAN a staunch Socialist and member of Sydney Branch. He was well known to many in the movement. He died after a brief illness. He leaves a wife and two young children.

### IMPORTANT.

Postal notes intended for payment at this office should not be made out in the name of any individual. All correspondence should be addressed to the Press Committee.

In future, every subscriber whose subscription to this paper expires will duly receive by post printed notice to that effect, and the practice of using red wrappers will be discontinued.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

## THE Australasian Socialist Party.



### SOCIALIST HALL

369 PITT STREET, SYDNEY

### Sunday Evening Lectures.

SUNDAY March 10th.

Speaker—Comm. Mrs. Lorimer

Subject—Vote for Labor

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The above branch meets every Monday night at comrade Jenkin's residence, Kurrah Road, Auburn.

Those who desire to join the branch and help in forwarding the Socialist cause should hand in their names to the branch secretary.

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